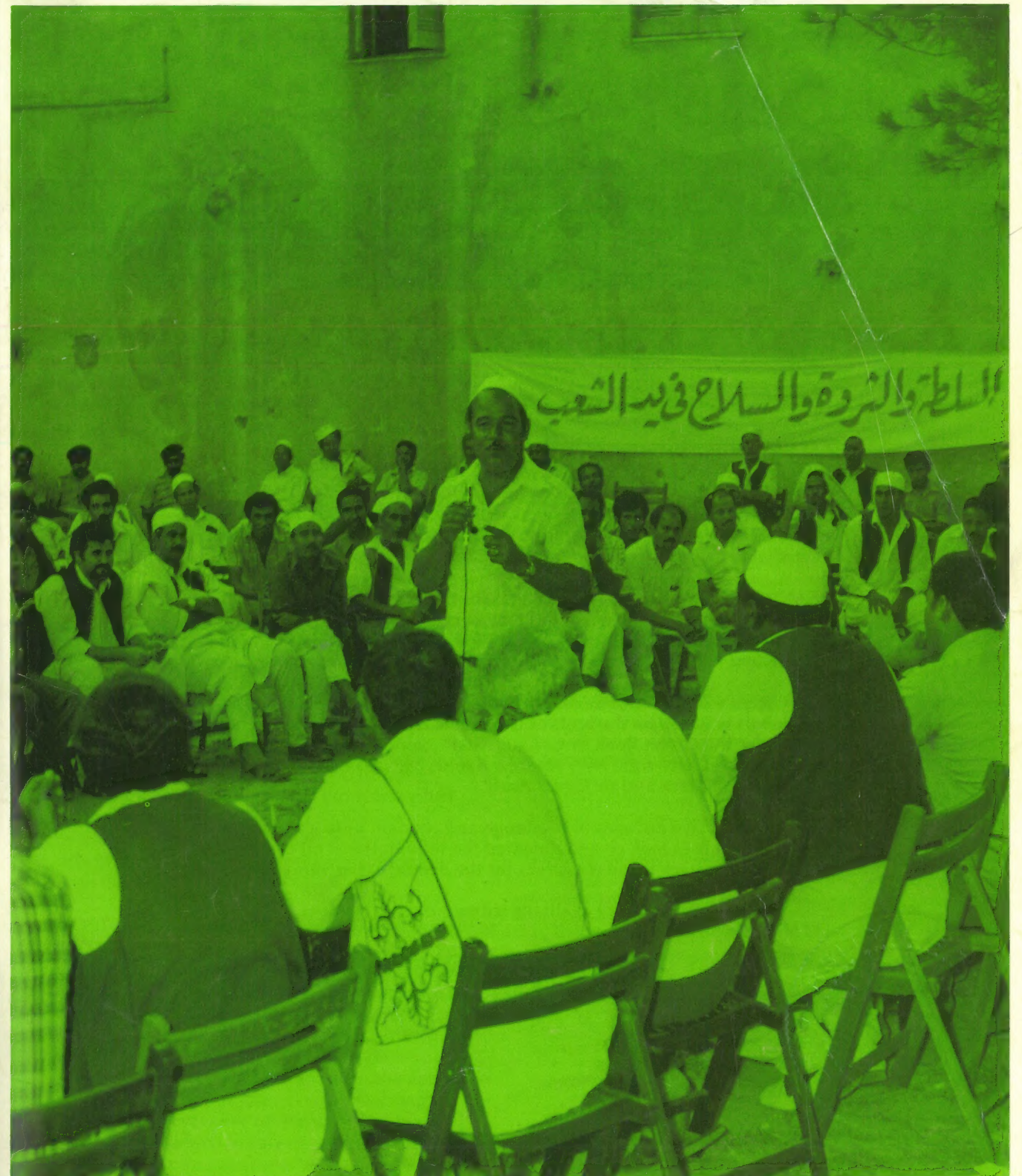


# jamahiriya review

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PEOPLE'S DEMOCRACY: POLITICS IN THE LIBYAN JAMAHIRIYA



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**THE GREEN BOOK:** Public discussions  
This report is based on the texts of two public discussions held in London to consider the Green Book by Colonel Muammer Gadaffi. Contributors include: John Cartwright MP, Andrew Faulds MP, David Watkins MP, Dr Timothy Niblock and Dr David Pool.

**LIBYAN OIL:** Two decades of challenge and change. Four essays tell the story of how Libya took on and defeated the multinational oil companies in order to win back its oil resources for the people of the Jamahiriya.

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# jamahiriya review

Issue No 1

June 1980

THE LIBYAN People's Bureau in London is pleased to present the first issue of Jamahiriya Review, a monthly report of Libyan affairs and comment on international events.

THE DISTINCTIONS between East and West, Islam and Christianity, Arabs and non-Arabs are discussed by Muammer Qadhafi, the Libyan leader, in a recent interview with the Italian journal 'Panorama'. On page 8, we review Qadhafi's call for a new moral order and cultural renaissance in the world. He argues that the traditional differences must no longer be permitted to divide the world.

THE PALESTINIANS: The latest European summit failed to make any new moves on the Palestine issue. It is time that Europe and the rest of the world faced up to the real issues, argues our editorial comment on page 4. Although most of the world rejects the Camp David accords, our report on page 9 shows that certain Arab elements are backing President Carter, and the Israelis and Egyptians in their efforts to suppress Palestinian nationalism. A report on page 10 reviews the latest terrorist methods now being adopted by the Zionists.

SINCE THE publication of Colonel Qadhafi's Green Book a dynamic system of democracy has been established in the Libyan Jamahiriya. Louis Eaks reviews the principles of the system and reports on how the Libyan people are making it work on page 11.

ALMOST HALF the Libyan people died as a result of Italian colonialism. A special report on page 15 provides a study of the traumatic years when Libya was subjected to one of the most sickening of twentieth-century colonial ventures.

THE SUCCESS of the liberation struggle in Zimbabwe now poses a major threat to the apartheid state in South Africa. A special correspondent reports on the increasing militancy of the black South Africans, which in recent weeks has led to the spectacularly successful acts of sabotage against key industrial installations which are crucial to the survival of the apartheid regime—see page 13.

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A monthly news review of Libyan, Islamic and Third World affairs

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Cover Photo: Democracy in action—Libyan citizens attend a meeting of their local Basic People's Congress to discuss matters of local and national importance. Their decisions will positively influence the Jamahiriya's policies and actions.

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# The European Community and Palestine: Time for honest speaking

AS THE Palestinians living in the territories occupied by the Zionist regime in 1967 come under a new wave of repression, and the Camp David process collapses as a result of its own shortcomings, the European Economic Community announces that it is to launch a new so-called initiative.

Any development in which the important European states publicly express their commitment to the Palestine Liberation Organisation being an essential party to any talks which concern the future of Palestinian territory, and endorse the legitimate rights of the Palestinian people to self-determination is a welcome step. It could affect the psychological stance of European opinion towards the whole Middle East conflict.

However, this hardly justifies the grandiose title of an 'initiative'. These are facts which most of the international community have already recognised and endorsed. At best it is a catching up process, and if it is only motivated by self-interest, as many claim, then it hardly merits any praise at all.

The 'initiative' as the Europeans call it, contains many serious defects, and it would be foolish to ignore these. Are the Arabs to be bought by a few hollow words like some tribal natives with a bag of colourful beads?

The world has been shocked by the savagery of the Zionist terror campaign now being conducted against Palestinian civilians in the occupied West Bank region of Palestine. Two mayors lay severely mutilated and may possibly die from their injuries. Many other civilians have been injured both from the emerging Zionist underground groups and as a result of brutality from the Zionist occupation forces. For the Palestinian people these atrocities are not new. They are precisely the tactics used by the Zionists in 1948 to drive the Palestinians from their homeland as a prelude to the Zionist proclamation of the Israeli state. If the world community (with the obvious exception of the Carter administration, with its hollow pronouncements about respect for human rights) can express outrage about these latest events, on what basis can they defend the existence of the Zionist state which emerged from similar bloodshed three decades ago?

We would applaud any initiative on the Palestinian question which is based on principle, and respect for human rights and dignity. It remains for the European community to ensure that its efforts conform to internationally accepted standards of human and national rights. But whatever formula the Europeans may put forward, we are entitled to expect that it should not be a mere piece of paper, containing meaningless words. Any initiative, from whatever quarter, fails to have meaning if it does not contain a mechanism which will transform policies and statements into reality.

We do not underestimate the difficulty of the problem. Israel was born out of terrorism, and has survived through the use of military force. As a violation of Arab rights and

dignity we have the right to respond to violence with violence. This is no pathological desire for bloodshed, it is merely responding to aggression in precisely the same way that Europe responded in two World Wars.

If pressure is to be exerted on the Zionists, the Europeans and the international community must stand by their declarations, and more. Any European initiative, and any new resolution at the United Nations Security Council is meaningless if it contains no mechanism to enforce the consensus stand. Why should the Zionists take any notice of a new resolution, when during the past thirty-two years Israel has stubbornly rejected and ignored every pronouncement from the United Nations?

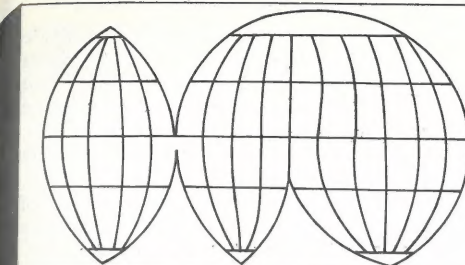
Any new resolution must contain a mechanism for implementation, embracing a rigid timetable, and a programme of economic and political sanctions to be used against the Zionist state. It must be all-embracing, just as Carter would like his sanctions plan against Iran. Nations must be barred from trading with Israel, and from supplying military equipment to the delinquent state. Most important oil for Israel must be under strict embargo. And we demand secondary sanctions against those who persist in aiding the Zionists.

If we are to be critical of Europe, then as Arabs we have a duty to examine ourselves. The Arab nation is a powerful community, although years of colonial rule have left many countries in the Arab world and their regimes submissive to American pressures. In Europe's Second World War quislings were treated with contempt, yet the Arab world is not without its own quislings in this battle of destiny and honour.

If countries wish to trade with our enemy, then they must not expect to receive the benefits of trade in the Arab markets. If banks wish to operate in occupied Palestine, then let them withdraw from the Arab world. If governments wish to confer legitimacy on the Zionist occupation of Palestine through diplomatic recognition, then let their ties with the Arab world be broken.

It may suit the Western world to ridicule those Arabs who stand by their honour and their nation's dignity. But what respect do the Arabs deserve so long as they remain subservient to foreign powers, strengthening their economies with oil supplies to countries which under any other circumstances would be recognised as allies of a military enemy, and treated accordingly.

The international community must recognise that the Middle East conflict is not about what territorial borders Israel should, or should not, have. The Palestine issue is about an aggression by the foreign settler community which has occupied Arab land in Palestine. If Zionism is racist, as the United Nations General Assembly has declared, by what right does anyone declare that a regime based on a racist ideology has a right to exist?



## Qadhafi urges women's liberation

CONTRARY TO the image presented in the western media, the Revolution in the Libyan Jamahiriya has brought a series of measures aimed at providing women with greater rights and protection from discrimination and exploitation within Islamic society.

The Revolution's commitment to this goal was stressed again by the Libyan leader Colonel Muammer Qadhafi when he addressed girl students at the teaching institute of Jamilat al Azmarli in Tripoli on 7th May. Women, he said, must liberate themselves from the 'oppressive social subjugation' imposed on them.

'The time has ended when women were required to be always helpless and subdued,' he said. Qadhafi described the pre-revolutionary attitude towards women as 'insulting the human dignity', when, he said, women had been under the control of men, 'just like goods bought and sold'.

Qadhafi has consistently advocated that women should play a full role in society in Libya. Apart from a series of measures of legislation which have provided women with legal rights on such matters as property and divorce, perhaps the most notable change in the status of women in the Libyan Jamahiriya has been the introduction of women into the armed forces and militias.

## Libyan claim for Second World War reparations

A FIRM warning has been issued by the Libyan Jamahiriya concerning the country's claim for compensation for damage caused during the North African campaigns of the Second World War, when Libyan territory became a focal point for some of the most savage confrontations as the Allies and Axis powers struggled for control of this strategically important region.

On 9th May the Libyan leader Colonel Muammer Qadhafi said his country would claim from Britain, West Germany and Italy thousands of millions of dollars in compensation for damage caused during the North African campaigns of the Second World War. The fighting had 'trans-

formed Libyan soil into a theatre of international terrorism' to serve the interests of countries which did not concern Libya in any way, he pointed out. If sufficient damages were not received through negotiations, said Colonel Qadhafi, the Jamahiriya would consider confiscation of property held in Libya by the three states.

The same day it was reported that Dr Ali al Treiki, the Jamahiriya's Foreign Secretary, had said that legal documents were being prepared to substantiate Libya's claim for compensation. These would be presented to the countries concerned.

In London the Libyan People's Bureau issued a statement explaining that the former British presence in Libya had devastated the country and inflicted untold suffering on its people. It was understandable that Libya should seek compensation for its losses in a conflict in which it had had no interest, said the statement. The British Government, it went on, should recognise the right of Libya to compensation, 'otherwise the Libyan Arab people will resort to deterrent measures that will enable them to recover their rights in full.'

The scale of the destruction inflicted on Libya during the Second World War is well known in the West but there is a widespread assumption that the

European combatants were there by right. Accounts of the North African campaigns read as if the region was an uninhabited wasteland. It is not mentioned that the Libyan people were often the innocent victims of bombing raids and artillery duels. In addition, vast areas of the country were sewn with mines and these have maimed and killed hundreds of Libyans, a carnage that continues to this day.

## Will Carter get the message of Islamabad?

THE ISLAMIC Foreign Ministers Conference held in Islamabad during May once again emphasised the urgency needed in dealing with the Palestine issue, making particular references to the continuing Zionist occupation of Jerusalem. The firm stand adopted by the conference underlined the fact that the United States' persistent financial, military and political support for the Zionist state remains a major obstacle to any co-operation between the Muslim countries and America on other international business.

Despite Carter's efforts to rally the Muslim world behind the United States in her anti-Soviet campaign, Washington's dis-

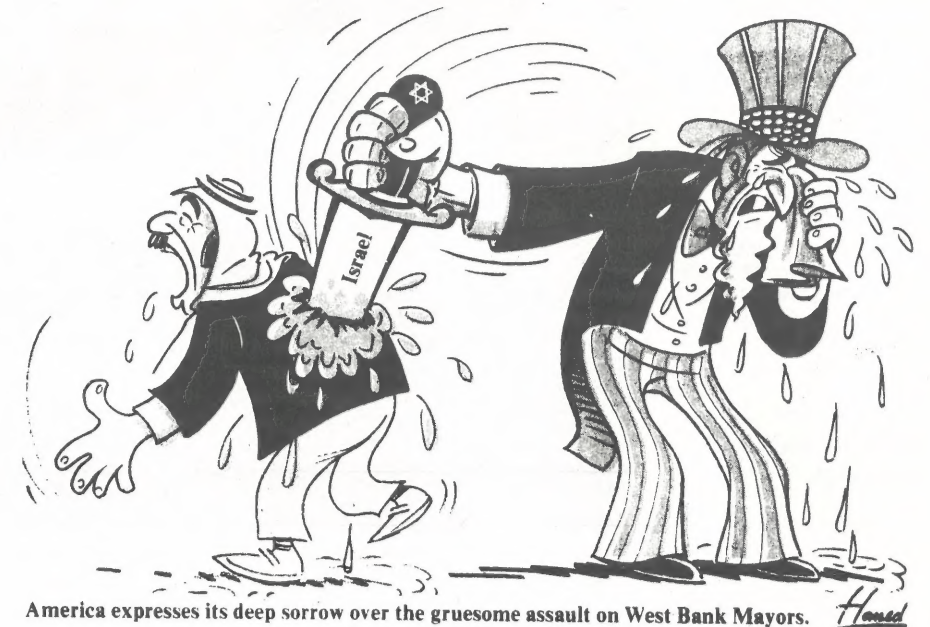
regard for Arab rights in Palestine has merely highlighted the lack of sincerity and principle in the American President's pleas.

The Conference closed in Islamabad on 22nd May with a call for an immediate United Nations Security Council debate on the recent Israeli move to perpetuate its occupation of Jerusalem, Islam's third holiest city.

The call followed the passage of a Bill through Israel's parliament a week before purporting to make East Jerusalem an integral part of the Zionist state. Since 1948 the Zionists have claimed the western part of the city as their capital. East Jerusalem was occupied in the 1967 Middle East war and the new law claims the whole city as Israel's capital in perpetuity.

The Islamic Foreign Ministers decided to hold an extraordinary session within three months 'should Israel not refrain from implementing its decision to consider Jerusalem the capital of the racist and Zionist entity'. Member states of the conference were invited to sever diplomatic and economic links with any nation that resolved to move its embassy to Jerusalem or recognised the Israeli annexation of the city or its status as its capital.

The Foreign Ministers' final communiqué also urged the world



America expresses its deep sorrow over the gruesome assault on West Bank Mayors. Howard



community to end 'military, human, material or moral support' to Israel. The total and permanent sovereignty of the Arab people and states over their resources in Israeli-occupied territory was reaffirmed and the Palestinians were given *carte blanche* 'to pursue their struggle by all means' to gain their rights.

The conference called on all Islamic states to impose sanctions on Israel 'including depriving it of its membership of the United Nations' and reaffirmed the need for all Islamic countries to accept the Palestine Liberation Organisation as the 'legitimate and sole representative of the Palestinian people'. The US-sponsored Israeli-Egyptian peace treaty, which takes no account of Palestinian rights, was also condemned by the conference, which urged the severance of diplomatic and economic links with the Sadat régime and an economic and cultural boycott of it. The communiqué deplored Washington's 'inimical attitude' to the rights of the Palestinian people.

## Mediterranean accord to protect environment

SPECIAL MEASURES have been taken as part of the Libyan Jamahiriya's development programme to ensure the maximum consideration for the environment and to limit pollution resulting from the country's increasing industrialisation. This was disclosed by the Libyan delegate to a conference of fifteen Mediterranean countries who approved a treaty to reduce and control factory waste and sewage pollution affecting the Mediterranean waters.

In recent years there has been increasing concern at the pollution of the Mediterranean — a problem which is due not only to the expansion of industrial plants in the countries bordering the sea, but also from pollution brought into the Mediterranean by river waters flowing from inland countries of Europe.

The treaty, approved on 16th May, after two days of debate by representatives of coastal Mediterranean states and the European Economic Community, will involve expenditure of \$10 - 15 billion over a period of 10 - 15 years, according to an official announcement.

## Sadat consolidates his hold over Egypt

IN A new move designed to strengthen his political control over Egypt, on 14th May President Sadat announced that he was assuming the position of Prime Minister as well as head of state.

Sadat's proclamation is the latest in a series of initiatives aimed at increasing his personal powers against the background of



Strong advocates of non-alignment: Libya's Muammar Qadhafi and Yugoslavia's President Tito. Now a new generation of leaders must work for the movement's ideals, says Qadhafi.

## The world mourns President Tito

PRESIDENT TITO'S death on 4th May after a prolonged illness deprived the non-aligned movement of another of its founder members. It was Tito, along with Egypt's President Nasser and Premier Nehru of India who in the late 1950s inaugurated the loose alliance of states opposed to domination by either west or east. Many Arab states, including the Libyan Jamahiriya, are prominent in the non-aligned movement and maintain close ties with Yugoslavia.

In a radio statement broadcast on 5th May Libyan leader Colonel Muammar Qadhafi said the death of President Tito 'places a huge burden on the shoulders of the new generation of leaders of positive neutrality and non-alignment in shouldering the responsibility for ending tension in the world, in the face of the

growing opposition to his policies which have left the economy in disarray and Egypt politically isolated in the Arab world. The prosperity that Sadat promised would come in the wake of peace with Israel has not materialised. The extent of his failure was underscored by the revelation that prices have risen by 10 per cent in the first three months of this year alone.

In a further move to bring the country even more under his

shadow of war, and safeguarding international peace. It lays upon them also the task of supporting the peoples struggling for freedom from foreign domination.' Libya, the statement continued, wished to express its solidarity with Yugoslavia 'and its readiness to support it in all circumstances.'

Tito's funeral in Belgrade on 8th May saw a gathering of world leaders unparalleled for many years, reflecting the wide respect the late Yugoslav leader's independent policies commanded. Among the mourners were President Brezhnev, Chairman Hua, the Duke of Edinburgh, Margaret Thatcher, M. Raymond Barre, Helmut Schmidt and other European leaders. The Third World statesmen included Mrs Indira Gandhi, King Hussein of Jordan, President Assad of Syria and PLO Chairman Yasser Arafat. The Libyan Jamahiriya was represented by Brigadier Abu Bakr Younis Jaber.

personal control, Sadat announced the same day that he had called a national referendum for 22nd May to secure a number of constitutional changes, one of which would enable him to remain in office as President for life. At present the constitution stipulates that a President can hold office for a maximum of two six year terms. Sadat's second term of office is due to expire in October 1982.

Then, in what observers saw as

yet another attempt to consolidate his hold on the country, Sadat announced on 19th May that greater executive power would be given to provincial governors. In this way, opposition elements amongst civil servants in Cairo, who have acted to thwart some of the regime's more unpopular measures, will be by-passed.

The abolition of martial law also announced in Sadat's 14th May speech is seen as a cosmetic move. It will do nothing to give greater freedom of expression to the Egyptian people since it came only two weeks after parliament approved the infamous Law of Shame, whose provisions effectively allow the stifling of all opposition to the regime. The law equates opposition to the regime with opposition to Islam and observers have noted how useful the vaguely-worded legislation will be in clamping down on dissent from any quarter. Quite apart from the Law of Shame, a draconian set of security regulations remain in force. Key clauses forbid the advocacy of 'any doctrine which implies a negation of divine teachings or which do not conform with the tenets thereof' and 'allowing youth to go astray by advocating a repudiation of religious, moral or national values or urge disloyalty to the nation'.

The growing momentum of internal opposition to Sadat was underlined on 12th May when a group of 54 prominent Egyptians, including two former vice-presidents and five former ministers, called for a more representative system of government. In a statement they accused Sadat's regime of disregarding the constitution. As an example of *ad hoc* individual decisions, they cited Sadat's decision in April to offer military facilities to the United States for its abortive attempt to rescue the American hostages in Tehran.

## Muslim lawyers sue for \$20 billion

FOLLOWING ITS screening in the United States, the furore over the television film *Death of a Princess* has reached a new intensity with two Muslim attorneys filing a \$20 billion suit on 14th May against the Public Broadcasting Service. They declared that the film was insulting to Muslims.

The joint British-American production caused an uproar when it was first shown in Britain on 9th April. It relates the attempts of a British journalist to discover the truth about the execution of a Saudi Arabian princess and her lover for adultery. Much of the film's content was considered highly contentious and it led to a strong Saudi protest to the British government and to the expulsion of Britain's Ambassador in Riyadh, Mr James Craig.

The lawsuit, filed on behalf

of the world's Muslim population, asks that the \$20 billion be put in a trust fund to spread Islam. The action calls the film part of 'an international conspiracy to insult, ridicule, discredit and abuse followers of Islam throughout the world.'

## Yemens take new steps towards unity

NORTH AND south Yemen have agreed to set up joint economic projects and co-ordinate their development plans as a step towards unification, it was announced on 6th May. The statement, issued at the end of a four day visit to Aden by North Yemeni Prime Minister Abdul Aziz Abdulghani, said prime areas for joint projects were industry, mining and transport.

Abdulghani is the highest ranking north Yemeni official to visit the south since it won independence from Britain in 1967 although the Presidents of both Yemens did meet in Kuwait a year ago after a brief border war and agreed on unifying their countries.

## Media victory for third world

UNESCO'S MEMBER governments agreed on 21st April to set up a new international body, within the framework of UNESCO, to help developing countries strengthen their news and communications capabilities.

The decision came at the end of a politically sensitive eight-day conference at UNESCO's headquarters in Paris, convened to give real meaning to the frequent references to 'a new world information and communications order' which have been made in UNESCO reports and at UNESCO conferences over the past few years.

The developing nations of the Third World are particularly concerned at the monopoly held by the major international news agencies such as Reuter, UPI, Associated Press and Agence France Presse, and the way it is used in disseminating news. These agencies are responsible for the overwhelming majority of news despatches made available to Third World media.

Few people fully appreciate the implications of this monopoly. First there is the problem that coverage by these agencies is slanted to the interests of the base country (Britain, the United States and France in particular) and reports are written biased to the national interests not of the country where the news is happening but to those of the former colonial powers. The dilemma is that Third World citizens are dependent on news reporting and analysis which is often biased against their own government's policies and prejudiced against



Zionist colonialism: Settlers pose new threat to West Bank Palestinians.

## Zionists step up colonisation

ISRAEL HAS disclosed a secret plan for extensive new Jewish settlement on the occupied West Bank aimed at quadrupling the Jewish population there in the next three years.

Mr Mattityahu Drobless, chairman of the Jewish Agency settlement Department, which is responsible for Zionist colonisation, said on 15th May that Israel was to establish 29 new settlements in the West Bank. Each would house 200-300 Jewish families, and 59,000 Israelis would be settled on the West Bank by October 1983. Israel now has 44 settlements there (excluding those in occupied East Jerusalem) housing about 14,000 people. The plan was first presented to the Israeli government in October 1978. It had been marked 'secret' and distributed only to cabinet ministers and members of the Jewish Agency executive. But a few months ago the plan was leaked to the Palestine

Third World interests as a whole.

Secondly, the major news agencies are able to limit the supply of news. While reports of events in an African country will be despatched back to London or New York and provided to British and American newspapers, the majority of these reports do not

Liberation Organisation, which distributed it at the United Nations.

Israel's West Bank settlement policy has met with worldwide opposition and condemnation. Even Israel's only ally, the United States, has repeatedly said the settlements are illegal and an obstacle to peace.

The Zionist settlement programme has made a farce of the Palestinian 'autonomy' talks taking place between Israel and Egypt. *Newsweek* magazine reported on 9th June, 'While the autonomy talks inched along, Israel established new facts on the ground. There are more than 100 Jewish settlements on Arab land. Prime Minister Menachim Beigin has promised to build ten more and to beef up the others.'

*Newsweek* pointed out, 'To Palestinians, the pattern is clear: Jewish settlements already ring East Jerusalem and other West Bank towns; as the settlements expand, the result will be inner-city Arab ghettos surrounded by fortress-like Israeli suburbs.'

go back to other African countries. Nor for example would a report dealing with oil development in Nigeria be made available to countries with similar interests such as Venezuela in Latin America. This control over news dissemination is seen as working against the interests of

the Third World, making it more difficult for countries with common interests and problems to work together on economic, social and political issues.

## Multinationals robbing Arabs

A NEW York University research director has accused multinational companies of reaping huge profits at the expense of the Arabs. Mahmoud Wahba, Director of the Institute of Applied Research at the university, warned during a visit to Kuwait in late April that these companies' negotiators were highly trained and urged the Arabs to hire specialised staff of their own to counter the threat.

He stressed representatives of foreign firms receive 'special training before they are assigned to the Middle East'. This policy has paid off, Wahba went on, citing the case of one unspecified United States oil company which had realised a profit of \$5.5 billion last year on a trade volume of \$85 billion.

'In negotiating with foreign firms,' the expert said, 'Arab investors should remember they are dealing with well-trained negotiators.' He advised the investors 'to employ specialised staff capable of conducting counter-negotiations. Arab investors should also devise means of data collection on foreign firms, particularly in cases of joint ventures'.

Wahba said this information should include data on financial operations, contract violations, board memberships, bank dealings and positions on various stock exchanges.

'Arab investors must deal with those companies on the Arabs' own terms and not accept foreign dictates,' he declared.

## Africa to set up common market

AFRICAN LEADERS have agreed to set up a common market covering the entire continent by the year 2000. This was announced at the end of the Organisation of African Unity's summit conference held in Lagos in the last week of April. It was the first in the OAU's 17-year existence called to concentrate on economic issues.

The common market is planned to come into being in two ten-year stages, with the coming decade being scheduled for the strengthening of existing economic groupings and the formation of others in central, eastern, southern and northern Africa. During the second decade emphasis will be placed on greater integration sector by sector.

In both stages stress will be placed on acquiring self-sufficiency and integration, nationally, regionally and eventually on a continent-wide basis, in food production, energy, transport, and communications.



# Muammar Qadhafi calls for new moral order



**THE DISTINCTIONS between East and West, Islam and Christianity, Arabs and non-Arabs are dismissed by Muammar Qadhafi, the Libyan revolutionary leader, in a recent interview with the Italian journal *Panorama*. Calling for a new moral order and a cultural renaissance in the world, he argues that the traditional differences must no longer be permitted to divide the world.**

THE NEED for a new moral order in the world today was the theme to which the leader of the Libyan Revolution, Colonel Muammar Qadhafi returned in a recent interview with the influential Italian journal *Panorama*. Dismissing suggestions that such changes could lead to a new confrontation between the industrialised and developing nations, Qadhafi stressed, 'The new renaissance for which we are working is a moral and cultural renaissance, which has no connections with military force and invasion.'

Although the interview which appeared in early June was given prominence in the western newspapers because of the Libyan leader's comments on the activities of the revolutionary committees in confronting Libyan exiles engaged in subversive activities, Muammar Qadhafi's remarks were addressed almost entirely to issues relating to the goals and ideals of Libya's Al Fateh Revolution.

Although it is now almost eleven years since the monarchy was overthrown in Libya, and the new revolutionary order established, it is clear that Qadhafi still holds to the ideals he has held since his early political days as a student in Sebha. If any change of emphasis can be detected it is that the Libyan leader now sees the need for a new moral order in international rather than pan-Arab dimensions.

As in the text of his *Green Book*, Qadhafi addressed his remarks to the need to overcome the fundamental problems which restrict the freedom of mankind. For Qadhafi, and the revolution which he leads, these are matters of freedom from political and economic oppression which can only be solved through radical and fundamental changes in the order of society, and the political and economic systems through which it is organised.

Qadhafi described the Third Universal Theory contained in *The Green Book* as 'an end product of past human experiences'. He added, 'I do not belittle the experiments and efforts made by others in the past.'

The Libyan leader asserted that since the revolution which he sought was moral and cultural, rather than military, the use of force against it could not be justified. Nevertheless, he recognised that people did exist who were vigorously opposed to the ideals of the Al Fateh Revolution.

The Revolution stood against political authority being held by others than the people of a society working through basic people's congresses, and people's committees. In industry and commerce, wage workers must enjoy new freedoms and dignity as partners, and human misery and exploitation have to be overcome through the implementation of such principles as 'the house belongs to its occupant', 'land belongs to society to individuals' and that 'authority must rest with the people' rather than an elite of individuals.

Questioned about those who oppose the Libyan Revolution, Colonel Qadhafi pointed out that these were people who sought to return the Libyan people to the old order. He recalled the exploitation and oppression which the Libyan people had endured before the Revolution. Such people opposed the socialist system which had created an equitable society and removed their vested interests and power. Such people were against the devolution of authority, and opposed the Revolution's introduction of democracy in industry and commerce where workers had become partners. Likewise, those who had exploited people's needs through property and

real-estate now opposed the revolutionary order whereby a house belongs to the occupant.

The introduction of a socialist and revolutionary society had brought great benefits to the majority of the Libyan people. At the same time the new moral order had demanded sacrifices from the wealthy and the powerful. Many such people had recognised the justice of the new revolutionary society, but a few remained opposed.

However, Colonel Qadhafi warned, this small group of counter-revolutionaries would face the firm determination of the Libyan people to defend the revolution and its achievements.

Describing them as 'the remnants of the society of exploitation, slavery and dictatorship', Colonel Qadhafi added, 'The question is not that of individuals but of a whole exploitative class which opposes the people and not just the regime.'

On the subject of social and economic development, the Libyan leader again raised the moral issues confronting the Arab world today. Petroleum wealth was not a necessary prerequisite for development. In fact, such affluence was in some cases a major obstacle to progress.

Qadhafi argued, 'The rich Arab countries are the backward ones in which illiteracy is rampant, and where individuals do not strive to acquire productive skills, thereby threatening the very concept of a productive society. The individual in these countries does not strive to achieve excellence, because he thinks that money is adequate compensation for excellence.'

He added that once the Arabs were no longer dependent on oil revenues then they could turn to their own 'science, skill and excellence to create progress.'

**MEETING IN Damascus the Congress of Al Fateh has reiterated its commitment to the total liberation of Palestine. Although the Camp David Talks on Palestinian 'autonomy' between Israel and Egypt have finally collapsed, President Carter has warned that he will veto any moves by the European powers to launch a new Middle East initiative.**

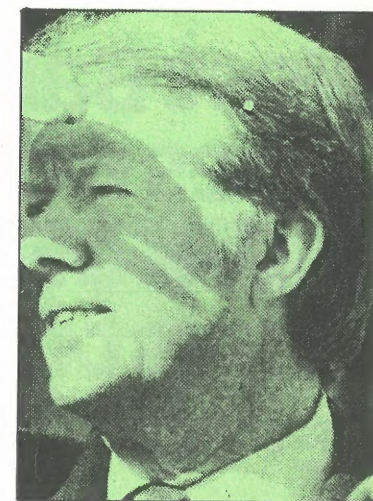
DURING MAY the parties to the Egyptian-Israeli-US alliance launched intensive diplomatic campaigns designed to create the illusion that the Camp David peace process is alive and well and to thwart the imminent European initiative on the Palestine question. The intention is to save Carter, now engaged in his campaign for re-election, from the embarrassment of having to admit the failure of his Middle East policy. A development that surprised observers was the declaration by Prince Fahd of Saudi Arabia that his country was prepared to negotiate with Israel if the Zionist state proved willing to pull back to its pre-1967 borders. Radical Arab observers see Fahd's statement as further evidence of Saudi vacillation on the Palestine question, and its willingness to put the survival of Sadat and Carter before the liberation of Palestine and confrontation with the Zionist regime.

The Palestine resistance group Fatah, meeting in Damascus, however, left nobody in doubt as to the Palestinians' determination to retain control over their destiny.

The passing of the 26th May target date for agreement on Palestinian autonomy should have put the final nail in the coffin of the US-sponsored Camp David peace process. By that date Israel and Egypt were supposed to have reached agreement for a Bantustan style formula under which the Palestinians of the West Bank and Gaza Strip would exercise 'autonomy' over their local affairs while remaining under Israeli military occupation. Instead, the Israeli-Egyptian talks, which had anyway made no progress, had broken down completely before the target date had even been reached. Having secured Egypt's military disengagement the Zionists quickly moved ahead with their plans to step up settlement on the occupied West Bank region of Palestine.

The Camp David agreements had been hailed in the West as a major foreign policy success — in fact the only such success — of Carter's administration, despite their obvious defects and motives. In no way could the accords be interpreted as compatible with Palestinian

## Washington takes stand against Palestinians



rights. In the run-up to the US presidential elections it is imperative for Carter to hoodwink the electorate into believing that there is still life in the accords. The 26th May target date has therefore been dismissed by all the parties to Camp David as irrelevant. The talks are to go on regardless, almost as some form of death dance.

In recent months, however, the European states have indicated that they are preparing a separate initiative on the Palestine question, independent of the Camp David process, which they now see for the failure it is. The main elements of the initiative are expected to be calls for an independent Palestinian state in the West Bank and Gaza Strip and for the Palestine Liberation Organisation to be a full partner in any peace negotiations. However, it offers little more than Carter's scheme.

The establishment of the Palestinian state would be conditional on Palestinian recognition of Israel's right to exist in peace within its pre-1967 boundaries.

Nevertheless, the European initiative will draw attention to the ruins in which Carter's Middle East policy now lies. Therefore the US-Israeli-Egyptian alliance has launched a major diplomatic campaign to intimidate the Europeans into staying their hand. The strongest pressure has come from Carter himself. On 31st May he threatened that the United States would veto any attempt by the Europeans to introduce a resolution on Palestinian self-determination in the UN Security Council. The Egyptians and Israelis joined Carter's campaign by sending emissaries to European capitals to argue against the initiative. The main thrust of their arguments has been that any European move must be within the framework of the Camp David process. They hoped that this concerted pressure might influence Europe to postpone its initiative at least until after the US elections.

The statement by Saudi Arabia's Prince Fahd in late May was also seen as part of the campaign to distract attention from Camp David's failure and bolster Carter's flagging image. He pledged to Washing-

ton that Saudi Arabia would do its utmost to bring the Arabs to work for a full settlement if Israel would 'declare its sincere intention of withdrawing from the lands occupied in 1967'. In a total sell-out to the Zionists, he made no reference to the PLO or to Jerusalem and emphasised Saudi Arabia's commitment to UN Resolution 242, which amongst other things, affirms Israel's right to live in peace and makes no reference to the Palestinians' national rights. Fahd's statement is all the more surprising in view of Europe's increasing recognition that Resolution 242 is inadequate as a basis for any peace formula.

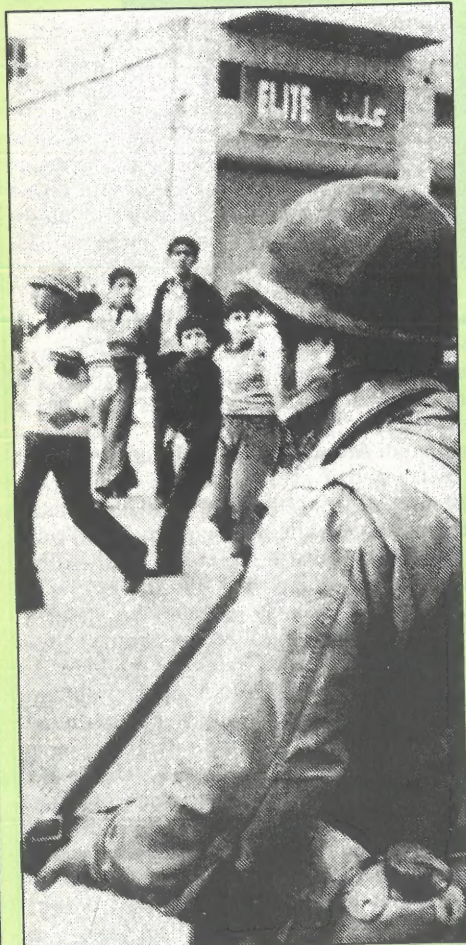
Saudi Arabia is a close ally of the United States and it seems unlikely that such a statement would have been made without consultation with Washington. The Prince later denied that his remarks implied that his country supported the Camp David accords. The Saudi position, he claimed, 'is based on the collective Arab position which regards the Palestine problem as the crux of the Middle East problem.' Any solution to the conflict, he continued, 'must ensure the withdrawal by Israel from the occupied Arab territories, especially Jerusalem, and recognition of the rights of the Palestinian people, including the right to repatriation, self-determination and the establishment of its independent state on Palestinian soil.' The retraction failed to allay fears that Riyadh was on the point of formally joining the US-Egypt-Israeli alliance and doubts linger as to the extent of Saudi support for the Palestinians.

The Palestinians themselves have never doubted the futility of the Camp David process. Their position was forcefully restated at the fourth congress of the Fatah guerrilla group that ended in Damascus on 31st May. The congress rejected all 'projects, agreements or decisions that have emanated, or will emanate, from the United Nations, from a group of states or from any individual state if they negate the right of the Palestinian people to the whole of their national soil.'

Fatah defined itself as an 'independent, national, revolutionary movement whose aim is the complete liberation of Palestine.'



# West Bank faces new wave of Zionist terrorism



Harsh military occupation for Palestinians under Israeli rule on the West Bank and Gaza Strip.

**IN A series of Zionist terrorist operations reminiscent of the 1940s, two Palestinian West Bank mayors were seriously injured in car bomb attacks on 2nd June. The incidents are part of a major terrorist campaign now planned by the Zionists to force West Bank Palestinians to leave their homeland.**

THE ATTACKS on three Palestinian mayors in the occupied West Bank brought a swift reaction from the Palestine Liberation Organisation, which called for a special session of the United Nations Security Council 'to discuss the explosive situation in the occupied territories'. An emergency meeting summoned by PLO Chairman Yasser Arafat urged other Arab states to 'bear their responsibilities in facing these crimes' and called on the people of the West Bank to hold a general strike in protest at the atrocities.

Mr Bassam Shaka, the mayor of Nablus, and Mr Karim Khalaf, the mayor of Ramallah were both maimed when their cars were blown up. Mr Shaka had both legs amputated and Mr Khalaf lost his left foot. A third mayor, Mr Ibrahim Tawil of El Bireh, narrowly escaped a similar fate, having discovered a bomb in his car before entering it. The same day a grenade attack in a Hebron street injured seven Palestinians.

Observers are unanimous that the atrocities were the work of Zionist settlers on the West Bank, in particular those belonging to the Gush Emunim and Kach groups. Both have made frequent calls for the eviction of the entire population of the 1967 occupied territories.

Chairman Arafat said he held both the Israeli government and the United States Administration responsible for what he described as 'escalating official terrorism against the Palestinian people in the occupied territories'.

A few days before the bomb outrages a substantial arms cache had been discovered in a Jewish seminary in Jerusalem noted for the number of its students and graduates who are adherents of Gush Emunim. The weapons were all of Israeli army origin and the cache was linked to the settlers, confirming reports that they were organising a private army.

Meir Kehane, the leader of the psychotic Kach group had earlier called on the Zionist government to form a 'Jewish terror group' that he hoped 'would throw bombs and grenades to kill Arabs' to drive them out of Palestine. 'I haven't the slightest doubt that there are Jews in this country at the moment who are planning things,' he said, 'I have no doubt that there will be Jews who will do terrorist acts. Of course there will be bombs against Arabs. I haven't the slightest doubt.' This candid admission of intent leaves little room for doubt as to the identity of those responsible for the bomb attacks on the three mayors.

These were the culmination of a long-standing Zionist campaign of intimidation against the West Bank mayors, who were elected in 1976. Their outspoken criticism of the Israeli occupation has made them thorns in Israel's side and the Zionists eagerly seized on the 2nd May Palestinian commando raid in Hebron that left six settlers dead and seventeen wounded to deport the mayor of Hebron, Mr Fahd Kawasmeh, the mayor of Halhoul, Mr Muhammad Milhem, and the

Qadi of Hebron, Sheikh Rajib Tamimi.

At a packed meeting in the House of Commons in London on the same day as the bomb outrages the three men described how in the early hours of 3rd May they had been taken from their homes, put into a helicopter, hooded and dumped in south Lebanon. No charges had been levelled against them and they had played no part in the guerrilla attack.

Mayor Milhem cautioned his audience, however, not to see the deportations or the car bomb attacks simply as moves to silence the local Palestinian leadership. 'The harassment and the liquidation of the people in the occupied territories is directed against all the people,' he said, citing the grenade attack in Hebron to illustrate his point.

The deportees also emphasised that the harassment should not be seen as the work of isolated extremists. The settlers have strong support in the Zionist cabinet and the occupation forces have not acted effectively to halt the attacks on local Palestinians. These, he said, must be seen in the context of the long-term Zionist aim to depopulate the 1967 occupied territories to make way for massive Jewish colonisation. The settlers have enjoyed the tacit support of the Beigin government all along.

Mayor Milhem also reminded his audience of the numerous occasions on which Beigin had referred to the 1967 occupied territories as 'liberated areas' and how, under Beigin's interpretation of the Camp David accords, which called for 'full autonomy' for the occupied Palestinians, there was to be autonomy for the people, but not for the land on which they lived, about one third of which has already been expropriated for Zionist settlements.

Condemning the US-sponsored Camp David peace process, Milhem said not one of the parties to the accords was qualified to speak for the Palestinians. Equally, he saw nothing coming from the much vaunted European initiative on Palestine, the main elements of which are expected to be a UN call for full PLO participation in any peace negotiations and for the creation of a Palestinian state in the West Bank and Gaza Strip. The United Nations, he said, had passed numerous resolutions on Palestine and they had all been to no avail.

Warning of the dangers to world peace entailed by the continued denial of Palestinian rights, the mayor said, 'The time bomb in the Middle East is the absence of a Palestinian state.' If such a state were established, he said, security and stability would come to the region. 'Security comes by the recognition of Palestinian rights,' he declared.

Milhem told his audience that the Palestinians' spirit would never be broken. 'If only one hundred Palestinians were left they'll continue to press for self-determination and a state of their own, and to insist that the Palestine Liberation Organisation is their only representative.'

# People's power is basis of democracy in the Jamahiriya

**ALTHOUGH COLONEL Qadhafi is persistently portrayed in the western media as 'Libya's strong-man', suggesting that Libyans live under some form of dictatorship, in fact a flourishing democratic system has been established making a reality of the virtues of democracy to which self-styled democrats in the West pay only lip service.**



WHEN THE General People's Congress meets in Tripoli, the Libyan capital, later this year it is difficult to predict what decisions they will reach. Last year they sacked five key Secretaries — the Libyan equivalent of a Minister — and broke relations with China and Yasser Arafat's Al Fatah organisation. Throughout the convention Secretaries responsible for the country's multi-billion dollar development programme came under heavy criticism for delays and failures.

A prime characteristic of the Libyan Revolution which Muammar Qadhafi led in September 1969 to overthrow the monarchy of King Idris, has been its persistent efforts to devolve political power, and to make officials strictly accountable to the country's citizens. The political system in the Jamahiriya (a term indicating a state of the people) has been devised to provide every citizen with the maximum opportunities to exercise political control and power over policy decisions ranging from local issues of schooling and housing, through to key international issues and foreign policy.

The present political system emerged in the eighth year of the Revolution. During those preceding years Qadhafi and his fellow members of the Revolution Command Council had taken a series of measures aimed at establishing a participatory and decentralised system of democracy. The end goal was clear, and Qadhafi repeatedly stated it. The Revolution had not been staged in 1969 merely to replace one political élite with another. Its aim was to give power to the people. It was an admirable idea, but would the Libyan people only now emerging from decades of colonial oppression, where submission and apathy were considered virtues, be able to assume such responsibilities? Qadhafi persisted. Workers and students were urged to take over their factories and universities, and citizens incited to assume control over local government administration.

The early months of 1977 saw the first major political campaign ever to be staged in Libya since the years of resistance to the Italian occupation. Throughout the country villagers and townsfolk debated policies and nominated those to attend the General People's Congress in the southern city of Sebha in March. It convened with one thousand delegates from People's Committees, professional associations, trade unions and syndicates. Their task was to debate and approve the details of a new political system, and to select Secretaries to supervise and head the work of the restructured ministries which were to become known as Secretariats.

When the General People's Congress convened in November 1977 they resolved to be responsible for the appointment of the Jamahiriya's foreign ambassadors (since then Libya's embassies have become People's Bureaux), the chairman of the Supreme Court and its judges, the governor of the Central Bank of Libya, the General Controller and chairman of the Audit Department.

Additionally, power was given to People's Committees to manage the execution of local projects included in the national transformation plan. Perhaps most important, the General People's Congress agreed to strengthen the concept of open government and the accountability of officials by ruling that the assets and interests of the secretaries of Congresses, leadership committees and the chairmen and members of the People's Committees should be declared.

All the decisions taken by the General People's Congress — the national legislature — are first debated at the local level, and those attending the General People's Congress are mandated as to how to vote by citizens attending the Basic People's Congresses. Discussions are often heated, and major differences of opinion are not uncommon. As a result votes at the General People's Congress fail to conceal the divergence of opinions

throughout the country. If, for example, it was Qadhafi's wish to break ties with Arafat's organisation, then only 83 per cent of congressmen voted to support the move. On the break with China five differing views emerged during the debate. The consensus decision followed from 38 Basic Congresses supporting a freeze in economic relations, while 14 favoured a total break in relations, and another 12 wanted a freeze on all relations with China. A further 18 called for a complete review while another nine argued that China should be warned that such were the consequences if she maintained her ties with Egypt.

If the 1,112-person General People's Congress is the plenary forum of Libyan democracy, the real power lies at the local level and with the 178 Basic Congresses which operate throughout the country. All Libyans have the right to attend and vote at meetings of their local basic congresses. No one is disqualified from attending and making their views known. So housewives and students, labourers and professional workers come together on a regular basis to discuss issues of importance — local development plans and all the normal matters of concern to the individual. But in addition, on the agenda might be Libya's stand on an issue of foreign policy or the national guidelines of the five-year development programme. None of these issues can go forward to the agenda of the General People's Congress until the citizens attending the basic congresses have reached a consensus opinion and given a mandate to those who will take that vote to the Congress in Tripoli.

The country is divided up into Basic People's Congresses, each having equal voting power within the national legislature. Although the number of people living within each of the local constituencies may vary, the thinking behind the system is to ensure that sparsely populated constituencies such as the



country's southern regions are not disadvantaged by the densely inhabited urban conurbations on the coastal plain.

In a municipal area there might be more than one basic people's congress — a large town or city would for example have more basic constituencies within it than a small rural town.

Each Basic People's Congress chooses a secretariat, and every resident has the right to nominate candidates including themselves. The successful candidates are finally approved as a result of open discussion. The number of members of each secretariat varies according to certain criteria. Five member secretariats are chosen for those congresses coinciding with a municipality area, three members for those where two congresses exist, and two members where three or more congresses exist within a single municipality. Each secretariat then chooses a Secretary and an Assistant Secretary to be responsible for day-to-day administration.

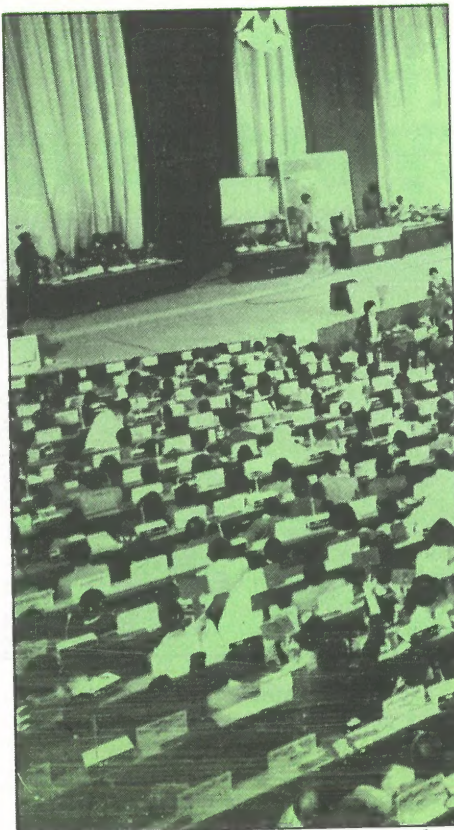
These Basic People's Congresses are empowered to implement any decisions they reach regarding their own district, and the various People's Committees are obliged to implement such policy decisions. When decisions or recommendations are taken that concern other basic congress areas, or national policy, then these must be referred to the appropriate body for their consideration.

A similar system operates at the municipal level through Municipal People's Congresses, where again a secretariat is chosen together with a Secretary and Assistant Secretary. The task of these two officials is to liaise with the basic congresses, and assume responsibility to ensure that all decisions are properly followed up by the appropriate specialist committees.

At both the basic and the municipal levels committees are formed to deal with matters such as housing, education or health. Members of the committees are chosen for their specialist qualifications, so teachers and students would be prime candidates for the education committee, or engineers and architects for the utilities committee. Committee members are answerable to the local residents attending the congress meetings, who have the right to remove them if the committees fail to carry out their duties.

Still at the local level, there is a third form of basic congress which operates in the trade union and professional spheres. Their members, as well as participating in the basic People's Congresses also take part in choosing Secretaries for their union or association.

The structure of local administration has its parallels in other political systems within their district, borough and county councils. Where the system differs is in the strict accountability of any person holding office to the constituents, and the latter's direct role in choosing those officials whether they be Secretaries or members of the various specialist people's committees. The other major difference of course is



General People's Congress: Voice of the Libyan People.

that issues under review at the local level are not restricted to local issues, but range right through to national and international affairs.

From this local and municipal level, those chosen as the Secretary and Assistant Secretary of each congress are then themselves qualified to attend the national legislature — the General People's Congress, which convenes in Tripoli once a year. For those who deride this annual gathering as a negation of the real meaning of a national congress, fail to take into account the on-going liaison between the local and the national committees which provide a constant flow of opinions, views and decisions from the citizens to the administrators. Once the broad outlines of policy are determined by the General People's Congress, responsibility then goes back to the basic congresses to implement the policies. Those who criticise this annual gathering are probably themselves members of political parties or organisations which similarly rest their democracy on an annual conference.

The General People's Congress debates the reports of the various Secretariats (the Jamahiriya's equivalent of ministries). It is the task of Congress to choose both the Secretaries for the coming year, and the Committee of each Secretariat which, comprising members of the General People's Congress, meets regularly to implement policy decisions of the Congress. The Secretary (or Minister) is accountable to the Secretariat Committee and acts as its chairman. If he fails to meet his responsibilities he can be removed by the committee and a new Secretary appointed.

There are nineteen Secretariats covering fields from foreign affairs, petroleum and justice through to social security and planning. Together the nineteen Secretaries plus a Secretary-General form the General Popular Committee.

The final body in the political system is the General Secretariat of the General People's Congress comprising a seven-person team, headed by the Secretary-General who ranks as the equivalent of a prime minister in traditional political systems. The post is currently held by Mr Abdel-Ati Al-Obeidi who now holds the position initially held by Colonel Qadhafi.

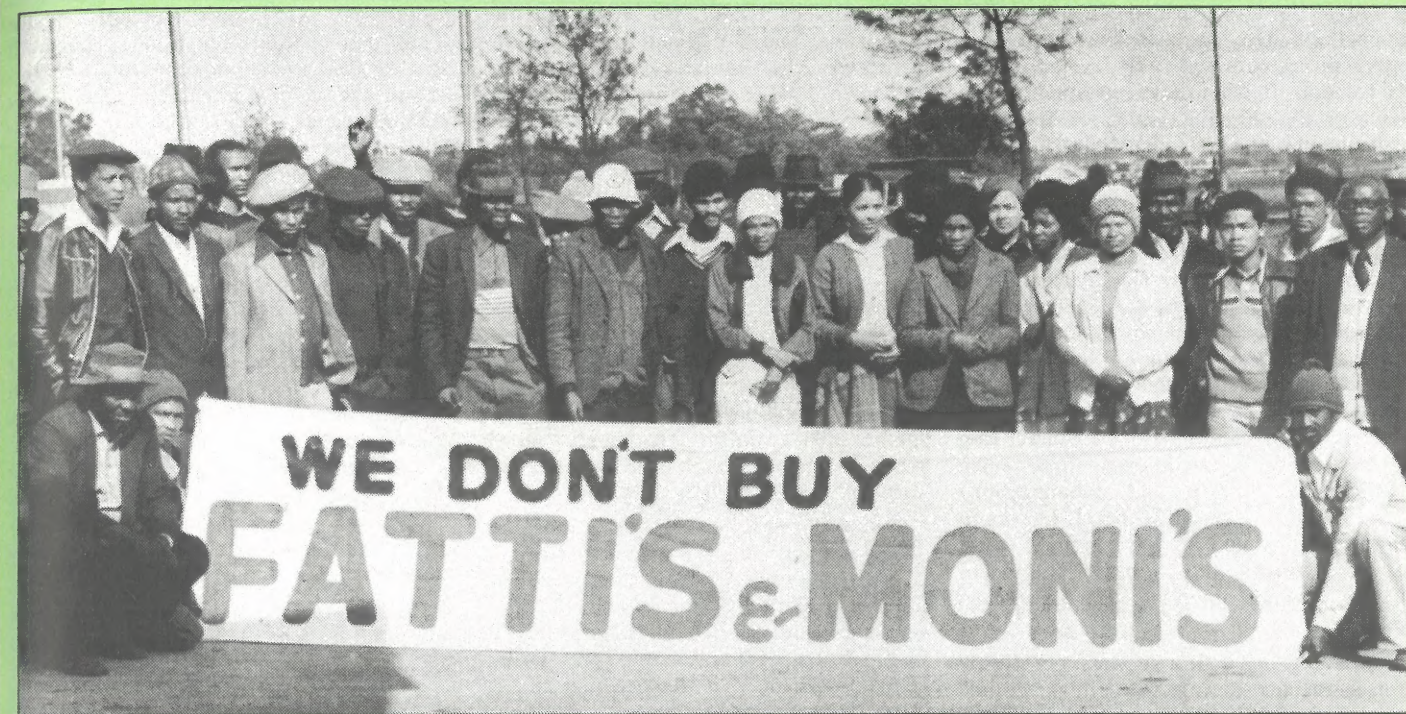
Members of the General Secretariat and the General Popular Committee are themselves given ex-officio status as members of the General People's Congress.

Contrary to the impression given in the western media, Muammer Qadhafi has no position or role in this civilian political organisation, other than the right to attend his local basic people's congress. Even then all policy decisions must be through the political system on which the Jamahiriya's democracy is based.

However, parallel to this system but independent of it, is a movement, the equivalent of a pressure group. Qadhafi is recognised as the leader of the Revolution, but this is no longer represented by the original Revolution Command Council. Instead a movement of Revolutionary Committees has sprung up, composed of individuals dedicated to the principles and ideas of the Revolution. Again, membership of such a committee is open to anyone confessing to hold these revolutionary views and principles.

The Revolutionary Committees work as a pressure group within the political system, although Qadhafi has warned that members should expect no special privileges or rights. Their task is limited to propagandising the revolution and its ideals, and through attending the basic people's congresses they urge citizens to reach decisions which are consistent with the goals of the Revolution. Nevertheless, the ultimate decision on all policy matters rests with the Libyan citizens.

Since the establishment of the Jamahiriya system, responsibility for implementing the current five-year transformation (development) plan has fallen on the local people's congresses. The plan itself was devised and finalised before the system was developed. However, with the country's new five-year plan due to operate from 1981, consultation and involvement in preparing the plan has rested heavily on Libyan citizens making known their priorities and opinions through the basic people's congresses. When the plan is finally unveiled at the next General People's Congress it will again be subject to approval following protracted discussions by Libyans throughout the country, and will be the product of a model system of democracy based on the fullest possible participation of the country's citizens.



Boycott: Oppressed South Africans assert their rights against the apartheid regime.

**A FORTNIGHT before the anniversary of the Soweto uprising on 16th June, black nationalists were spectacularly successful in sabotaging South Africa's key coal-to-oil plants at Sasolburg and Secunda. Designated by South African freedom fighters as the 'year of action', 1980 has already seen a substantial stepping up of armed insurrection, industrial turbulence and political discontent throughout the country. Both the targets and tempo of this escalating anti-apartheid struggle have changed considerably, and it now appears almost inevitable that the mounting civil disobedience and armed resistance currently gripping the country will continue until the overthrow of the racist regime and the establishment of an egalitarian society in South Africa. The implications of African independence in Zimbabwe are now sweeping southwards into the apartheid state, as our special correspondent reports.**

## What future for the apartheid state after Zimbabwe?

THE ENTIRE geo-political map of southern Africa has undergone radical change since Robert Mugabe's stunning victory in the Zimbabwean elections in February. Notwithstanding outside intrigues in the region, the Zimbabwean nationalists upset the carefully laid designs of Britain and South Africa to install a Muzorewa-led regime. By scoring an absolute majority in the polls, the Patriotic Front not only tilted the economic and political balance of power but also heralded in a new dispensation for all the oppressed peoples of southern Africa.

Not since the Portuguese coup in 1974 and the subsequent victories of Frelimo and MPLA in Mozambique and Angola respectively has a single event transformed the political situation so swiftly and significantly. The stranglehold exerted by South Africa over the entire sub-continent has been dramatically challenged and it will now find it difficult to sustain its former paramountcy.

The subject majorities in white ruled Namibia and South Africa were quick to acclaim the emergence of independent Zimbabwe with undisguised delight and jubilation. The undeniable psychological

impetus deriving from this potential threat to colonial fortunes which were seen as impregnable has inspired the nationalist movements in both South Africa and Namibia to intensify their liberation struggle and copy their counterparts north of the Limpopo. Conversely, Mugabe's rise to power has left white South Africa in disarray and upset their painstakingly nurtured plans to create friendly buffer states to insulate them from the rising tide of black nationalism.

In South Africa the revolutionary ferment generated by the 1976 youth insurrection in Soweto and elsewhere has continued to flourish. Despite the banning in 1977 of a number of anti-apartheid and Black Consciousness organisations and the police murder of Steve Biko, the confidence and determination of black South Africans has accelerated. As the path of dialogue and negotiations with the racists had again proved to be unmitigated failures after Soweto, the need for armed struggle has become recognised by those oppressed communities as the only option open to them.

With the establishment of yet another independent black state on South Africa's



lengthy borders, armed resistance is almost certain to escalate. Already the first wave of trained and fully armed bands of freedom fighters have returned to the country to launch a series of fearsome assaults in both rural and urban areas.

Prime targets have been police outposts, transport facilities, industrial installations and official buildings. Apart from incursions into Natal, Transvaal and the Eastern Province, guerrilla groups have also infiltrated the major industrial complexes. It is here that revolutionary cells have been formed by the military wings of the main liberation movements. These have been successful in remaining undetected, in spite of ever-increasing state security. So far this year three police stations in Soweto and Johannesburg have been attacked. The result has been increased fear and anxiety amongst white South Africans and a more open and defiant mood amongst the oppressed majority.

Commencing with a sequence of devastating strikes during the mid-seventies, exploited South African workers have increasingly used their economic muscle to obtain improved pay and conditions. Despite official attempts to either suppress or control the embattled black trade union movement, the political consciousness of workers has only grown.

The most recent manifestation of this tendency has been in Cape Town. Last year unfairly dismissed employees not only organised a successful consumer boycott of their company's products but also secured their unconditional reinstatement. This several months long confrontation received massive popular support and forcefully expressed for the first time the latent ability of the disenfranchised population to wield this potent economic weapon in attaining their legitimate national rights.

Encouraged by the victory of the Cape Town workers, general labour disputes which are often thinly disguised political discontent are spreading to all other industrial areas. During May and June this year, renewed industrial unrest and strikes took place in the Western Cape, Natal and eastern Transvaal involving food processing, textile and mine workers respectively. These have been complemented by an efficient consumer and commuter boycott in the Cape peninsula.

Such industrial action is not only simply to redress long-standing grievances. Black South Africans launched a series of wild cat strikes not only to remedy working priorities but also to frustrate any further discriminatory measures.

On the educational front, even before the 1976 Soweto revolt, the obvious disparity in the standard and ideological content of black education had been a constant universal irritant. The manifestly inferior facilities together with the imposition of the detested Afrikaans language sparked off the Soweto disturbances which have since become an acknowledged watershed in contemporary

South African history. No longer will the black and coloured population submissively accept discriminatory and unequal education.

This lingering educational discontent has now erupted into outright rebellion with the recent nationwide classroom boycott by school pupils in April, May and June. From their centre in the Cape peninsula, highly politicised coloured and black pupils, together with their tertiary level student colleagues, have orchestrated the most effective popular demonstration against apartheid since Soweto. With the backing of parents and teachers (itself a new phenomenon), the school strike spread like wildfire to every other province and was supported by all other artificially segregated race groups.

In one revealing incident, two thousand school students in Port Elizabeth stormed government collaborators, stoning one of them to death. In the Western Cape, school students demonstrated in central Cape Town causing havoc to normal commercial life. In desperation police opened fire on the demonstrating children, killing two of them.

Violence has also spread to Natal and especially to the normally placid Orange Free State where pupils in Bloemfontein burnt down official buildings and fire bombed the residences of black policemen. With anti-government demonstrations continuing, thousands of demonstrators, including leading church figures were arrested in Johannesburg and the other main cities. The government also placed several hundred prominent student, academic and worker activists under indefinite detention.

Ostensibly rejecting educational inequalities in the classroom, the boycott was in reality an organised campaign against institutionalised segregation. It reflected an embryonic mass mobilisation in the pursuit of a democratic egalitarian society.

In the political arena, the emergence of independent Zimbabwe has caused considerable consternation in white South Africa where the government and the news media enthusiastically backed and expected Muzorewa to maintain white supremacy. After financing their protégé's electoral campaign and illegally deploying South African military contingents in Zimbabwe during the run up to the elections, the Pretoria regime's coveted dream of a South African dominated constellation of puppet states in the sub-continent now lies in ruins. The distant Zambezi river is no longer South Africa's frontier with black Africa. Instead it now faces a hostile country right on its border.

Confronted with their disastrous miscalculation in Zimbabwe, white South Africa's initial shock and dismay has quickly given way to acrimony and dissension in Afrikaaner ranks. Predating Mugabe's rise to power, the ruling Nationalist Party had been split into the relatively enlightened *verligte* and ultra conservative *verkrampste* camps. While

progressive Afrikaaner elements desire restricted modifications to the apartheid structure to prevent a repetition of Zimbabwe, the ascendant reactionary wing has resolutely refused to make any compromises. Under the leadership of P W Botha, the South African regime initially pledged to liberalise and relax 'petty' apartheid, but under sustained pressure from the *verkrampste* it has beaten a hasty retreat. A new so-called constitutional dispensation to attract the non-black communities into a limited power sharing formula with whites has similarly stalled on account of the right wing backlash, coupled with outright rejection by the communities concerned.

Coming so fast on the heels of the 'Muldergate' scandal, white society is demoralised and confused by the contradictory political oscillations in the ruling establishment.

Ever since the establishment of the apartheid state in 1948, black collaborators have conspired with the racists to implement their inhumane laws. Despite the proclaimed 'independence' of three Bantustans and demands by black stooges for international recognition, the world community has shunned their overtures. The emergence of independent Zimbabwe and the failure of Ian Smith's own apartheid policies highlights the bleak fate awaiting all collaborators. In these circumstances, even former stalwarts of government policy such as the subordinate black sections of the Dutch Reformed Church have been moved to denounce apartheid. Bantustan leaders and other government appointed ethnic functionaries are thus finding themselves increasingly isolated and discredited.

Despite belated government attempts at proposed political, social and economic reform, the complete dismantling of apartheid is now the minimum demand of black South Africans. This climate of resurgent black optimism contrasts manifestly with the doldrums of the post-Sharpsville era and comes in the midst of South Africa's ever-increasing diplomatic isolation, sports and cultural ostracism and the reluctance of foreign financiers to invest in the country. With only right wing regimes in Latin America, Zionist Israel, Taiwan and South Korea prepared to expand relations with the beleaguered state, the black majority, notwithstanding intensified repression and the introduction of even more rigid press censorship, look forward to the future with growing confidence.

The submissive psychological attitudes and mental complexes which hitherto underpinned their passivity and servility is being systematically eroded and replaced with impatient defiance. Uncompromising opposition by the black community to racism, white paternalism, second class citizenship and subordination is now the order of the day in South Africa, and there are increasing numbers amongst the Europeans who now believe that the days of apartheid are numbered.



Mass murders: A frequent ordeal for Libyans during the Italian occupation.

## The Libyan holocaust

**IN 1911 Libya fell under Italian rule, and so began one of the most sickening of twentieth century colonial ventures. During the next thirty years the Libyans were subjected to mass public hangings, concen-**

**tration camps, and bombing with mustard gas resulting in the deaths of around 750,000 Libyans—about half of the population. This special report provides an insight into those traumatic years of the Libyan holocaust.**

'THE ITALIAN conquest of Libya is one of the most sickening episodes of the twentieth century, as traumatic to the Libyans as the Nazi holocaust was to the Jews,' wrote a British journalist recently. He added, 'some 750,000 — around half the population — are believed to have died, yet the guilty were never put in the dock at Nuremberg or anywhere else. The Libyan holocaust, unlike the Jewish one, remains an obscure event to all but the Libyans themselves.'

It is not until the realities of the harsh oppression to which the Libyans were subjected by the Italians are fully understood that modern Libya's unyielding

support for other liberation movements and her uncompromising stand against European colonial ventures can be fully appreciated. The Revolution in September 1969 brought a final break in Italian influence in Libya. Although Libya fell under American and British control following the Second World War, the expatriate Italian community remained, still exercising a firm control over the country's economy and its internal politics.

The Italians had turned their attentions to Libya in the early twentieth century against a background of internal political problems and failed colonial ventures. The Libyan campaign was

intended to restore Italy's dignity as well as secure foreign territories, as was the European vogue at that time.

On somewhat flimsy grounds, the Italians declared war on the ailing Ottoman Empire in September 1911 and seized Tripoli the following month. A year later, despite stubborn combined Turkish-Libyan resistance, Turkey unilaterally renounced her sovereignty over Libya in October, 1912. Although the Turkish authorities abandoned their claims to the country, the Libyans were to launch a campaign of resistance which was not subdued throughout the period of Italian rule.

Far from accepting Italy's proclaimed civilising mission, the Libyan people called a *jihad* (holy war) in defence of their country. Against undeniable odds, patriotic Libyans defeated the Italians in a series of initial skirmishes which provoked widespread Italian retribution against innocent civilians, including defenceless women and children. Torture, rape, the slaughter of pregnant women, mass deportations, public hangings became the hallmarks of Italian revenge.

Francois Macola, a journalist who accompanied the Italian troops in Tripoli has left a vivid account of these horrific atrocities: 'I refused to stay with an army whose sole occupation was committing murder. Seeing the slaughter that took place and how sick Arab women and children were left to die in the streets, made me write a letter to General Kanaiva telling him 'I refuse to stay with an army which I consider to be no more than bands of highway men and murderers'.'

Even the German Consul was shocked to realise that 'the killing of Arabs, regardless of innocence or guilt, was lawful.' Another German writer, Von Gottberg, left Libya disgusted with Italian brutality: 'No army meted out such vile and inhuman treatment as the Italian army in Tripoli. General Kanaiva has shown contempt for every international law, regarding [Arab] lives as worthless. He has killed indiscriminately, no matter whether they were captured in battle or arrested at home.'

Despite the Italian's campaign of intimidation and suppression the Libyans nevertheless restricted their vastly superior military adversary to coastal enclaves around Tripoli, Benghazi, Derna and Tobruk. In the interior the Italians were ignominiously routed and forced to retreat to their seaboard strongholds. By 1914, effective guerrilla warfare organised by the soldier-patriot, Umar Mukhtar in Tripolitania and Cyrenaica resulted in a military stalemate with the Italians unable to consolidate their tenuous grip on Libya's littoral provinces, and the Libyans unable to oust the foreign invaders. During the First World War, however, the Libyans took advantage of Italy's war preoccupations to launch, under the leadership of the Sanussis, what proved to be an abortive military offensive against the invaders.





Even after the First World War, Italy's jurisdiction over Libya, despite concessions to the Sannusis and the aid of innumerable collaborators, still extended only to the major towns. However, following the appointment of Guiseppe Volpe as governor of Tripoli in July 1921, the Italians intensified their efforts to establish control over the entire country. Volpe's paranoiac revulsion of Arabs and Islam led him to personally supervise the massacre of thousands of innocent people and the expropriation of their wealth and property. His ambition to crush Libyan resistance once and for all, however, failed dismally. In a memorable victory at Qasr Ahmad in February 1922, the ill-equipped Libyan *Mujahidin* (freedom fighters) again halted the Italian advance.

With the rise of fascism in Italy and the assumption of power by Mussolini in 1922, the situation was dramatically transformed with the emergence of a new and even more vicious colonial policy. The final and complete subordination of Libya was now contemplated. Mussolini instructed Graziani to accomplish this mission. Realising that the Libyans were formidable foes, Graziani embarked on a systematic campaign to eliminate all the psychological and cultural values which united and inspired Libyans to resist foreign overlordship.

The task of opposing the anticipated Italian military thrust and preserving Libyan independence was entrusted to Idris, the head of the Sanusis (despite pronounced anti-Sanusi feeling in Tripolitania). Instead of confronting the Italians, Idris retreated to Egypt where he remained secure in exile until 1944.

After the consolidation of fascist rule in Italy, and the continual strengthening of their armed forces in Libya, resistance gradually waned and crumbled. Nevertheless it still took the Italians, notwithstanding their infinitely superior military might, close on to a decade to finally subdue the Libyans. In this colossal struggle to preserve an independent Libya, the indomitable hero of the resistance, Umar Mukhtar, was eventually captured after twenty years of ceaseless

fighting. After a perfunctory trial he was publicly executed by the Italian authorities in 1931.

By the early thirties, Italy's military machine and the ruthlessness of its colonial administrators ultimately overwhelmed all Libyan opposition. Not even ideal guerrilla war conditions could delay total Italian domination any longer. But the colonial conquest was not the smooth operation the Italians had expected. Three distinct military phases characterised that two decade long campaign. In the first instance the Italians relied almost exclusively on their military prowess to subjugate the truculent tribes which spearheaded Libyan opposition. In the second stage they deployed aircraft and motorised units. In the last phase, after the failure of their previous strategies, the Italians complemented their bloody massacres with a Nazi-type genocide of Libyans in the specially constructed concentration camps. They also used other pacification techniques reminiscent of modern counter-insurgency campaigns. Mass public hangings as a potent deterrent to those who co-operated with the patriots now became commonplace. In addition to these tactics, the Italians constantly strove to undermine Libyan unity and exploited tribal rivalries, sectarian squabbles and blood feuds. This divide and rule policy was accompanied by the cunning recruitment of Libyan collaborators into their police and armed services. The Italians also hand-somely bribed co-operative Sanusi tribal elders, spies and informants with regular subsidies and other token gestures. Notwithstanding their crucial contribution to the Italian war effort, these Libyan collaborators remained despised by their fellow countrymen.

Each tribe maintained its own clan-destine guerrilla band supported by the bulk of the population. These freedom fighters, from their cavernous bases in Jebel Akhdar, the limestone plateau of northern Cyrenaica, incessantly harassed and outwitted the Italian forces by their rapid mobility and secretive strikes. Unable to overcome these tribal regiments by regular means and determined to wrest the initiative from the guerrillas, Graz-

iani was obliged to re-organise his troops into smaller, more manoeuvrable units. To deny the Libyan freedom fighters their supplies and support, he compulsorily disarmed all the tribesmen and made possession of arms a capital offence. Next, Graziani authorised the military tribunals to summarily execute anyone who assisted the guerrillas and arbitrarily closed down all the Sanusi lodges.

Since Libyan commandos depended increasingly on arms and other aid which arrived from their Islamic and Arab brethren via the eastern frontier with Egypt, Graziani first deployed his armoured planes and cars to intercept these elusive caravans in what was the first deployment of aircraft for military uses. When this failed, he erected a formidable barbed wire barrier, thirty feet wide and five feet high on the Libyan-Egyptian border which stretched for over three hundred kilometres southwards from the Mediterranean coast. Constant land and sea patrols were also used to isolate the *mujahidin* and sever their supply lines. Thus only by these measures was the country slowly scourged into submission.

Not content with the neutralisation of Libyan military resistance, the Italians also systematically depopulated the fertile plateau regions by evicting several hundred thousand people and expropriating all arable land. In Cyrenaica alone, nearly two-thirds of the population either died or emigrated as a consequence of these repressive policies. From a maximum of a hundred thousand acres of land confiscated in 1923, the Italians expropriated twenty times that much by the mid thirties. All such acquired property was exclusively reserved for Italian immigrants who now entered Libya in droves to embark on large-scale resettlement and land reclamation projects. The Italian 'demographic' colonisation of Libya escalated rapidly during the thirties when landless Italian peasants migrated with generous state assistance to the now pacified territory. By 1942, had the Second World War not intervened, the projected number of such colonists was to have been around one hundred thousand, with that figure designated to reach, according to

Mussolini, several million two decades later. Thus on the eve of the world war. Italian settlers constituted approximately ten per cent of a total population of just under a million. With the intention of ultimately outnumbering the indigenous inhabitants, the Italians hoped to secure undisputed control of the land, in a fashion to be used later by the Zionists in Palestine.

The next step employed by the Italians to consolidate their conquest was the assault on cultural and religious traditions. The prime targets were Arabism and Islam. Arabic, the language of both the people and their religion, was undermined and supplanted by Italian. The opening of Italian medium education establishments and the official propagation of Italian culture were all intended to attain their colonial objectives. Islam suffered similar ignominy. Mosques were either demolished or converted for other purposes. In Tripoli the grand cathedral rose on the grounds of a mosque which the Italians razed to the ground. Muslims were also forbidden to go on pilgrimage to Mecca, thereby isolating Libya from the rest of the Islamic world.

On the cultural front, Libyan dignity was also tendentiously eroded. The Italians heaped abuse on Libyans wearing their national dress and for upholding their heritage. Libyans were subjected to various civil restrictions and discriminated in a manner not dissimilar to those current in apartheid South Africa. For example they were forbidden access to public facilities used by Italians, denied the right to sit in first class sections of public transport and barred from those commercial districts patronised by the colonists. Education was strictly segregated and the formation of patriotic organisations and newspapers proscribed. The 'Italianisation' of Libya reached a high point with the renaming of all streets, squares, public and other buildings with Italian nomenclature.

Hand-in-hand with these measures, the Italians encouraged Catholic missionaries to propagate their faith in a devoutly Islamic society. The deliberate destruction of tribal life-styles and kinship institutions and the campaign to transform subsistence nomads into labourers was not only another attempt to introduce alien values and complete the 'Europeanisation' of Libya, but was also intended to obliterate the Islamic and Arab heritage of the country.

But all other Italian tactics to subdue Libya seem to pale into insignificance when compared to the wholesale extermination of Libyans in the numerous concentration camps constructed by the colonial regime. The Italians, aware that their control of Libya would remain tenuous as long as the Bedouin tribes were 'unpacified', erected a number of heavily guarded prison fortifications, not only to incarcerate captured freedom fighters but also countless innocent civilians.



The Italians glorified their occupation (top), but many Libyans never lived to tell of the reality (below).

Graziani ordered armed vehicles, mounted troops and infantry to forcibly round up the population into these desolate barbed wire encampments. No one was exempted and those who lagged behind because of illness, age or exhaustion were summarily shot. The entire Bedouin population from the eastern districts were herded into these infamous camps at Aleila, Saluk, al-Majrun, al-Abiyar, Akila, Ukaiba, Addasiya, Tukra and Awakir. By 1929 these and other locations near large towns and satellite villages housed about three hundred thousand Libyans.

The extremely high mortality rate in which about two-thirds of the adult population perished and nearly ninety per cent of children died is perhaps without precedent in human annals. The dreadful conditions in the camps where food and water was always at a premium gave rise to various eye diseases which often led to the permanent blindness of those afflicted. What was most irksome to the defiantly proud Libyans however, was the

hated barbed wire which confined them to the claustrophobic existence of these camps. In addition to these grievances, survivors recall the daily insults, undignified whippings, corporal punishment, random torture and sexual molesting that were the lot of the inmates. Several eye witnesses also tell of horrendous examples of barbaric behaviour by the Italian prison guards who often raped and shot people for pleasure.

The humiliation of the internees was complete when they were forced to salute the Italian flag and sing the Italian anthem. Not surprisingly, the appalling conditions within the concentration camps left a profound psychological impression on the inmates who refused to be cowed. The barbed wire came to be recognised as the very symbol of captivity which had to be cut. But despite Libyan resolve, the relative success of Italy's genocide policies is evident from official statistics. From over one and a half million people before the invasion, the Libyan population dwindled to less than a million.



# Education for all the people

THE POSITIVE attitude towards education in modern Libya stands in sharp contrast to the former neglect of education. Under the Turkish occupation schooling was largely ignored. Like other countries under their sway, the Turks saw Libya above all as a source of revenue for taxation and as a source of conscripts for their armed forces. Education was seen simply as irrelevant.

Conditions under the Italian occupation were even worse. The Italian colonisers, unlike the Turks, certainly held strong views on education but their policies were designed to prevent the emergence of educated Libyans who might serve as a focus of nationalist aspirations. At the same time, every effort was made to repress the people's awareness of their Arab heritage. Such educational programmes as were available were designed to produce individuals with a European, and of course particularly Italian, outlook. Teaching was in the Italian language and programmes were designed to emphasise Libya's ancient ties with Rome.

When Libya gained nominal independence in 1951, the cumulative impact of the long years of foreign domination was all too evident. Ninety per cent of the population was illiterate, there were no secondary schools for girls and no female primary school teachers. Secondary school teachers numbered a paltry 25 and only 14 Libyans held university degrees. In a country characterised by the World Bank in the 1950s as the poorest in the world, it is no surprise that little could be done to improve this alarming situation. Nevertheless, some progress was achieved, particularly after the advent of oil revenues in the 1960s.

By the academic year 1968/69, 270,617 pupils were enrolled in elementary schools, 29,181 in preparatory schools and 7,181 in secondary schools. Teacher training colleges were catering for 5,159 students and 1,259 were receiving technical education. In addition, 12,086 students were enrolled in institutions for religious education.

A notable development in pre-revolutionary Libya was the establishment of the country's first university at Benghazi in 1955, although at the time there were only 31 students and eleven teachers. Later, faculties of the University of Libya were established at Tripoli. In addition an Islamic University was opened at Beida in 1957. By the 1968/69 academic year the total university student population had risen to 3,956.

The bare figures for the number of Libyan students in the late 1960s, however, mask a number of serious flaws in the academic system as it then was. In the first place, 71 per cent of students at schools and colleges were male. In the university the imbalance was even greater,

**THE PROVISION of enhanced educational opportunities for the people has been a fundamental and consistent goal of post-revolutionary Libya. The essence of the Revolution's attitude to learning is encapsulated in Muammar Qadhafi's Green Book, which guides the Jamahiriya's development. 'Education,' he writes, 'is a natural right for every human being and no one has the right to deprive him of this right.'**

only 11 per cent of students being female. In a country with such a small population as Libya, this represented a serious problem. About half the populace were at that time excluded from playing a full role in the development of their economy and society.

A second basic problem was the emphasis on non-technical studies. This ill fitted a state taking its first steps on the road of development. Only 1,259 students were enrolled at technical training establishments in the 1968/69 academic year. Another problem was the concentration of educational facilities in the major towns, notably in Tripoli and Benghazi. For a country as vast as Libya this inevitably meant that many people were simply too far from schools and colleges to avail themselves of the facilities available.

The vastly increased expenditure allocated to education since the Revolution emphasises the determination of the Jamahiriya to improve the quality of life of the people and at the same time to create a labour force capable of meeting the heavy demands of the country's ambitious socio-economic development programme. In the 1970-78 period no less than LD462.8 million were earmarked for education, compared with LD47.6 million, a tenth of the figure, in the years from 1963 to 1969.

The result in terms of enhanced academic facilities has been as dramatic as the expenditure itself. The number of schools and technical training establishments increased two and a half times in the first ten years of the Revolution. Teachers training colleges tripled in number. The old university, meanwhile, has seen striking expansion, and this is continuing. In the 1972/3 academic year

it was divided into two establishments, at Benghazi and Tripoli, now known respectively as the Gar Younis and Al Fateh Universities. A Faculty of Education of Al Fateh University was established in the southern town of Sebha in 1976/77, an example of the current emphasis on distributing educational institutions more widely. The Islamic University has been transformed into the Arabic Language and Islamic Studies Faculty of Gar Younis University. A Petroleum Institute now exists in Tripoli, together with a Petroleum Faculty, as well as a Petroleum Engineering Higher Institute at Tobruk. In addition there are technical institutes at Brak, Houn and Bani Walid.

The vigour with which the revolutionary authorities have approached the development of education is also evident from the changes which student numbers and composition have undergone. By the 1978/79 academic year the number of pupils in elementary stage schools had more than doubled to 604,090. Preparatory schools expanded their pupil intake no less than seven times to 201,211, reflecting the new policy of compulsory free education for children. Secondary school children rose in numbers fourfold to 28,139. The crucially important teachers training colleges multiplied their enrolment six times, to 28,735. Their graduates will do much to alleviate the reliance on expatriate school teachers who the Jamahiriya has had no option but to recruit. Equally impressive has been the expansion of technical education. In 1978/79 students numbered 7,553, a six-fold increase over the figure ten years earlier. Religious education, meanwhile, has not been neglected and registered a three-fold rise in students, who numbered 35,019 in 1978/79.

As important as the expansion in overall numbers has been the encouragement given to girls to take advantage of the new educational opportunities. There are still more boys than girls studying but the balance is much more equitable than it was before the Revolution. By the 1978/79 academic year the proportion of girls at schools and teachers training colleges had risen to 45 per cent. Progress at university level has been somewhat slower and in 1976/77 the proportion of girls students was still only 20 per cent, reflecting the time required for long established social divisions to break down.

No one would pretend that there is no further scope for development of the Jamahiriya's educational system. What is beyond dispute, however, is the impressive scale of progress achieved in so short a time, particularly when the appalling educational deprivation suffered by the Libyan people during their years of occupation is borne in mind.

## Inflation leads to oil price adjustments

THE FAILURE of the industrialised nations to stabilise prices for their products and technological services, and to introduce some system of price controls to bring inflation under control has led to new price revisions for oil by the Libyan Jamahiriya and other OPEC producers.

With many oil producing states dependent for a high percentage of their consumer products and materials for development projects from the industrialised nations, the inability of the western nations to maintain prices poses major problems.

The oil producers are constantly confronted with the erosion of their petroleum incomes as a result of inflation, and until the industrialised countries make some firm steps to maintain product prices it seems unlikely that the oil producers will be able to stabilise their prices.

The Libyan Jamahiriya has raised the price of its oil by \$2 per barrel, boosting the price of its principal crude to \$36.12 per barrel. The move was announced on 19th May and was effective from 15th May. The Libyan decision came amid a general round of oil price rises by OPEC countries, prompted by Saudi Arabia's 14th May move to raise the price of its basic crude by \$2 per barrel to \$28 per barrel, retroactively to 1st April.

The problems surrounding OPEC oil prices were highlighted at a two-day extraordinary Ministerial conference of the organisation which ended in the Saudi Arabian mountain resort of Taif on 8th May. While the majority of members agreed in principle to raise prices on a quarterly basis in accordance with indices reflecting western inflation levels, exchange rates and the GNPs of OECD countries, there was no agreement on the floor price from which to start any new pricing mechanism. The Libyan Jamahiriya, Algeria and Iran, however, dissented from the majority agreement on quarterly price adjustments, arguing that the proposed mechanism did nothing to maximise earnings and took too little account of key economic indicators within the oil producing countries themselves.

The Libyan price revision coincided with similar moves by Algeria and Indonesia. Algeria raised prices by \$1 per barrel, effective from 16th May, bringing the price of her crude to \$38.21 per barrel, including a \$3 'exploration premium'. Indonesia raised prices by an average of \$2 per barrel, making the price of its basic crude \$13.50 per barrel, with effect from 20th May.



The march towards industrialisation in the Libyan Jamahiriya — see report 'Two Libyan factories'.

Then on 20th May Iraq, Kuwait and the United Arab Emirates raised their prices by \$2 per barrel, in all three cases retroactively to 1st May. The rises brought the price of Iraq's basic crude to \$29.96 per barrel and that of her lighter crude to \$30.18 per barrel. Kuwait's oil is now priced at \$29.50 per barrel and the UAE's at \$31.65 per barrel.

The following day Venezuela adjusted its rates upwards by \$1—\$3.50 according to the gravity of the crudes concerned while Qatar added \$2 to the price of its two main varieties. Venezuelan oil is now priced at between \$17.90 and \$34.25 per barrel and that of Qatar at between \$13.42 and \$13.23 per barrel.

Finally, on 23rd May Nigeria raised its oil prices by \$2 per barrel across the board.

There was speculation that the Saudi price rise was intended to bring greater unity to the oil prices of the various OPEC countries. If that was so, it evidently has not succeeded and the chances of a unified price structure being hammered out at the June OPEC conference in Algiers seem more remote than ever.

## Libya-Romania oil agreement

THE LIBYAN Jamahiriya and Romania agreed on 12th May on

new measures to further develop co-operation in the oil and gas industries, the official Romanian news agency Agerpress said.

It added that the agreement was reached at a meeting in Bucharest between Romanian Mining and Oil Minister Virgil Trofin and Libyan Secretary for Oil Abdusalam Zaager. Mr Zaager also signed a protocol to increase co-operation in other fields, notably agriculture and the construction industry, the agency said.

## Pipeline contracts for British firms

METAL AND Pipeline Endurance of the UK has a \$2 million contract for cathodic protection systems on the Sarir oil pipeline, *Middle East Economic Digest* reported on 25th April.

The contract, with Libya's Arabian Gulf Exploration Company (Ageco) is to supply, install and commission systems for 193 oil-well casings and trunk and flow lines. Power will be provided by solar energy panels being installed at each site by the UK company. Work should be completed by July.

The journal also reported that the UK power consortium Telepower Systems has a \$400,000 order to supply six power units for cathodic protection and telecommunications for a 380

kilometre oil pipeline in the west. The firm has a separate contract to train Libyans to use the equipment.

## New Libyan bank notes

THE CENTRAL Bank of the Libyan Jamahiriya announced on 16th May that five and ten dinar notes were being withdrawn from circulation and replaced with new issue. Holders of the old notes were given a one week period in which to exchange their cash for the new currency.

The move was seen as part of the continuing drive against corruption, with the authorities making it plain that anyone approaching banks with more money than they should have will be investigated. According to the Libyan media, many corrupt officials and businessmen had held their illicit earnings in cash form. These will now be worthless.

## Aid for north Yemen

THE LIBYAN Jamahiriya has undertaken to meet the Yemen Arab Republic's oil requirements for 1980-81 and to finance several development projects over the next five years, particularly in the fields of transport, tourism, agriculture and education.

This was announced on 30th April at the end of a visit to San'a, the Red Sea country's capital, by a Libyan delegation headed by Abdusalam Jalloud.

It was also disclosed that the Libyan Jamahiriya and the Yemen Arab Republic will form a joint committee for political co-ordination, to be chaired by the two countries' foreign secretaries.

The joint statement paid tribute to Libyan efforts to bring about union between north and south Yemen, underscored by the departure of the Libyan delegation from San'a for a visit to Aden, capital of Democratic Yemen.

## Two Libyan factories nearing completion

A 100,000 tonne per annum asphalt works at Zawia, on the coast about 60 kilometres west of Tripoli, will start production in June, the Jamahiriya News Agency (JANA) reported in late April.

At about the same time news came that a tractor assembly works at Tajoura, 95 per cent constructed by March, will be completed by the end of the year. Annual output will be 3,000 tractors if one shift per day is worked, or 5,000 with two shifts.



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